DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 273 520 SO 017 403

AUTHOR Bresee, Dana E.
TITLE Exchange Program Teenagers Compare Life in Denmark and the U.S.A. Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning No. 10.
INSTITUTION AFS International/Intercultural Programs, Inc., New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE Jun 85
NOTE 28p.
AVAILABLE FROM AFS International/Intercultural Programs, Inc., 313 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Cultural Differences; Family Attitudes; Family Environment; Family Influence; Family Life; Family Relationship; *Foreign Students; International Educational Exchange; *Permissive Environment; *Social Integration; Student Attitudes; Student Exchange Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Denmark; *United States

ABSTRACT

Thirty teenage exchange students from Denmark and the United States were interviewed concerning the differences they perceived in the two cultures. Salient differences were cited in the domains of family rules, education and schools, use of alcohol, romantic relationships and sexuality, communication and friendships, ethnic differences and religious beliefs and practices. Sometimes these differences caused problems. For this reason placement of exchange students should be done with care. It is noted that parents in the United States tended to be more authoritative and less likely to give their children decision-making responsibility than were their Danish counterparts. The Danish teenagers enjoyed a great deal of freedom along with the concomitant responsibility. (BZ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

NO. 10

afs Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning JUNE 1985

ED273520

Exchange Program Teenagers Compare Life in Denmark and the U.S.A.

by: Dana E. Bresee

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Cornelius Lee Grove

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SP017403

A Publication of AFS International/Intercultural Programs, Inc.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF AFS INTERNATIONAL

AFS volunteers and professional staff throughout the world are moving towards the goal of peace by stimulating an awareness of mankind's common humanity, a wider understanding of the diverse cultures of the world, and a concern for the global issues confronting society. They acknowledge that peace is a dynamic concept threatened by injustices both between and within nations.

In pursuit of this goal, the core of the AFS experience has been the promotion of relationships in which families, communities, groups and maturing young persons from different cultural backgrounds share new learning situations related to the purposes of AFS. In addition, through experience and experimentation, AFS has developed and continues to encourage new models and opportunities for exchange that will be beneficial for the development of society.

AFS does not affiliate with any religious, political or partisan group, but it believes in the value of participating in a continuous process of interaction between cultures both across and within boundaries.

AFS encourages all participants to involve themselves in situations in which they can apply and project their AFS experience.

INTRODUCTION

In this number of the **Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning** we present an interesting comparison of the life of young people in two "Western" cultures, Denmark and the United States. Despite the apparent similarity of these two societies, the differences between them are strongly felt by the teenaged exchange students cited in this work by Dana Bresee. The study reported here is based on her Master's thesis in International Education and Service from Lesley College Graduate School. Dana, a native of the United States, lived and worked in Denmark for five months while she conducted the research for her thesis. Dana herself was a high school exchange student to France on a semester program under the auspices of The Experiment for International Living. She subsesquently worked in France on two occasions for up to five months. Currently Dana is employed by Boston University in their International Student Office.

* * * * *

The **Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning** is always interested in finding new authors for our series. The editors try to provide a forum for people from a variety of nationalities and perspectives to report research findings, discuss new theories of intercultural learning and cross-cultural communication, or provide informative first-person accounts of sojourns in other countries or of relationships between people of different cultural backgrounds.

Articles submitted for consideration should be double-spaced and should not exceed 50 pages. All articles will be published in English and the author will be responsible for securing translation as necessary.

April 30, 1986

Copyright©1986 Dana E. Bresee
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The author wishes to thank Youth For Understanding in Denmark and in the United States for their assistance with this research and expresses her gratitude especially to those students who shared their experiences with her.

EXCHANGE PROGRAM TEENAGERS COMPARE LIFE IN DENMARK AND THE U.S.A.

Dana E. Bresee

In July, Leif left Aarhus, Denmark, to spend a year in the United States. He lived with an American family of six in a small town in Indiana where he attended the local high school and played on the football team. Meanwhile, Kate left her home in Palo Alto, California, to live with a Danish family of four in Verninge, on the island of Funen. Every weekday, Kate rode her bicycle the five kilometers to the nearest gymnasium, or upper school.

Leif came to the U.S. very excited about all the fun and adventures he would have. He had visited France and Norway a couple of times but this was his first time in the U.S. He was relieved when he got there because he was fairly happy with his host family, the Paines, and they did their best to make him feel at home. The family lived on a farm and everyone pitched in, especially during the afternoons after school and on weekends. He was friendly with his host brothers and sisters but he felt closest to his host father. Since Leif respected his host parents and felt grateful for being in their home, he tried his best to get along and to live up to his responsibilities. However, this was sometimes extremely difficult.

Leif was 17 and his family in Denmark gave him a lot of freedom. He was used to doing what he wanted with his free time as long as he joined in with family meals and household chores. He usually spent much time with his friends and girlfriend, both during the week and on weekends. As long as he told his parents his plans he could go where he wanted and return when he told them he would -- at midnight, around 4 a.m., or the next day. So it came as quite a shock to him when his host parents explained the rules to him upon his arrival. He could not believe that he actually was expected to come home at 9 p.m. on weeknights and at midnight on the weekends. At the beginning of his stay, he was constantly forgetting the time when he was out with his friends. He always felt badly when that happened because he knew he had caused the Paines unnecesssary worry. At the same time, it was hard to get used to all of the new restricions; sometimes he felt he was being treated like a baby.

Leif also had to be very careful about what he did and with whom he spent time. The Paines did not want him spending time with people they thought were a bad influence on him, nor should he drink alcohol outside the house or go to wild parties. He always wanted to be honest

with people but sometimes he found himself altering the truth about his activities a little bit so as not to upset the Paines or get them angry. It was difficult enough not to be able to visit discotheques or bars the way he always did in Denmark -- he should at least be able to enjoy a few beers with his friends out in the woods.

There was always plenty for Leif to do and he met many people. He liked the attention he got at school, especially once he was a member of the football team. However, many of the people he met seemed very immature and phony. It was hard to get to know them and have serious talks with them. He enjoyed exchanging opinions on current issues, whereas they preferred discussing cars or their favorite rock groups. After the first few months he did meet some people to whom he felt very close, which made him feel much better. They had a lot of fun together. He described a typical weekend as follows:

> I was very shocked when I found out that teenagers go a lot "cruising." When you're cruising you go around the lake and just drive around. There were a few places where we'd go -- Pizza King and Dairy Queen. We would meet on the square and just pull in and talk. For them that was great -- they thought that was how they should grow up. It's so different from what it is in Denmark that my [Danish] friends wouldn't understand if you started talking about football and friends and waterskiing and how it is cruising and stuff. That year was the best year of my life because it's so different from what I've been used to.

Leif also had an American girlfriend and they enjoyed spending time together. Unfortunately, her parents and the Paines were constantly supervising their behavior. For example, they could not even enter one another's bedrooms.

* * * * *

Kate was 16 when she got to Denmark; it was her first time spending more than a month away from home. Denmark opened up a whole new world for her and she was extremely excited to be there.

Kate liked her host family and spent a lot of time with them. They took long walks near home and sometimes took little trips around Funen and to Copenhagen. Most of the time, though, they just enjoyed one another's company at home. They often sat around after meals and in the evenings, talking, drinking tea, sometimes knitting. Despite all of these warm times, it took her a long time to get used to the Simonsen family. Her American family was very close and her parents were always very concerned about her. Back in the U.S., they expected her to ask permission before she did anything; sometimes they said no. She could only stay out late on very special occasions. On

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Sunday mornings she must always be well-rested and ready for church. When she got to Denmark, the Simonsens never explained the family rules to her, so she was not really sure what she could or could not do. When she asked permission to do something, her host parents said that she should decide whether to do it or not. She enjoyed this freedom. She loved going out with a group of friends to a discotheque, staying until 5 o'clock in the morning, and then buying breakfast at a bakery to eat at someone's house. Soon, though, she started to worry that what she did with herself did not matter to her host family. Also, she went a little overboard in the beginning; she drank too much a few times and had to come home early to lie down. The Simonsens teased her a lot and she felt very embarrassed. After a while, she realized that the Simonsens did care about her but they felt that she was an adult who could use her own judgment.

The Simonsens never went to church, which surprised Kate quite a bit. A few times Kate tried to discuss this with her older host brother. He said that his parents were Lutherans, but they only went to church on Christmas. He did not believe in God at all and he and Kate had a couple of intense discussions on this issue. These talks offended Kate so much that she decided not to bring up the subject anymore. She still held to her own beliefs and that was the important point.

Kate was very out-going and she made friends quickly. However, in the beginning Kate felt uneasy. Her friends seemed much more mature and independent than she was. As she said:

> Danes my age were more mature than I was at first. They made me feel like a baby. I guess the reason I grew up was because I had to keep up with them. The girls just had it all together by the time they were 15 -- what they wanted, where they were going.

In time, Kate felt very close to her friends. They had all known each other for many years and they spent a lot of time together. Often they would spend an evening at one of their homes and light candles, play music, and drink tea. They discussed every possible subject -- politics, family, relationships, philosophical issues, cultural differences. She found Danes very outspoken, and she learned a lot from these discussions. But sometimes she felt offended when someone disagreed with her or criticized her in a blunt way.

Kate met several boys she liked in Denmark, and in the beginning she was always hoping that they would ask her on a date. Sometimes one of them would seem to pay a lot of attention to her and spend time with her. She thought this was a sign that he was interested in her as a girlfriend, but it turned out that he only meant it as a friendship. At other times she was sure that a certain boy was attracted to her but they still never went out on a date. It took her months to realize that couples got together by going out informally in groups,

and then spending more time alone as they got to know each other better. Actually, she was surprised at how seriously involved some of her friends got with their boyfriends or girlfriends. She knew young people in Denmark who were living with their boyfriends or who had them overnight all the time, even while they still lived with their parents. This was very difficult for Kate to accept. Like many Danish ways, however, Kate gained a better understanding of her friends' values through time.

* * * * *

The preceding stories illustrate some major themes that emerged in my study of Danish teenagers who lived in the United States and North American teenagers who lived in Denmark through the Youth for Understanding program. Following an internship with Youth for Understanding in Denmark in 1984, I interviewed 16 Danes and 14 Americans who were on that program in 1983-84. My purpose was to identify and describe cross-cultural differences as perceived and experienced by these exchange students.

Both the Danes and Americans were aged 14 through 19. They came from and were placed in a variety of rural, urban, and suburban locations, primarily with families of average to above average incomes. While this study does not claim to represent all Danish or American youth or exchange program participants, it is based on an in-depth exploration of 30 soujourners' views of their experiences. As such, it may be seen as illustrative of experiences within the context of an intercultural homestay program.

As I interviewed Danish and American students, some patterns emerged that may be universal for any youth exchange experience. Others seemed particularly related to the exchange experience between Denmark and the U.S., and suggest topics to address when selecting and preparing students and families for this particular cross-cultural exchange.

For both the Americans and the Danes, relationships with family and friends in the host country were extremely important. Friends and family members were students' primary contacts with the host country; therefore, these relationships were their most vital means of learning about and experiencing the host country. Those who were satisfied with their homestays described active mutual participation in conversations, meals, decisions, activities and household responsibilities. The students and their host families cared about and trusted one another; they did things together and talked easily among themselves and were able to compromise and resolve conflicts. In less satisfying homestays, sojourners described conflictual and/or distant relationships in the host family, poor communication, intolerance for one another's beliefs, values and behaviors, and inflexibility on the part of the student and/or members of the host family.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Both Americans and Danes generally established close relationships with peers of the same and the opposite sex and enjoyed a wide range of activities with them. The students' overall assessments of the sojourn ranged from difficult and disappointing, to neutral, to overwhelmingly positive. Even the most glowing reports, however, included descriptions of confusion and painful adjustment. And all students interviewed commented on how much they had learned and changed through their exposure to new beliefs, attitudes, and ways of doing things.

These young people revealed substantial differences in their attitudes and the extent to which they integrated -- and were continuing to integrate -- the host culture. These different attitudes (and the degree to which students were able to integrate the host culture) can best be described as occupying a range of positions along a continuum. Individual attitudes may be found at any point along this continuum, and may change through time.

At one extreme are people who could be considered to have critical attitudes. These sojourners complained about many aspects of the host society. While all sojourners may be somewhat critical, critics distinguished themselves by their ethnocentrism and their extensive rejection of the host family, the host society, or both. They had a marked unwillingness to change, as this Dane articulated:

> I think I wouldn't fit in anywhere in America. Maybe it's just all my own fault, that I can't fit into something that isn't how I think it should be. I wanted to be the way I was . . . and they tried to change me but it didn't succeed.

In the middle are people with neutral attitudes. This attitude is characterized by a relative lack of change and introspection along cultural lines. In many areas in question, sojourners in this group noticed few differences between native and host cultures and reported a relative ease in adjusting from one to the other. They made comments such as, "It's not hard to get used to; you just find out that's the way it is." They may have initially viewed the host culture in a somewhat open-minded fashion, but they tolerated and accepted differences without more than minimal change in their own behavior and attitudes.

At the other extreme of the continuum are sojourners with what could be called integrative attitudes. Integrators are those who actively sought to adapt to the host culture. They attempted to view the behavior and attitudes they encountered in terms of the hosts' backgrounds and perspectives. The integrators assumed the responsibility for adapting to the host culture rather than expecting that their hosts would adapt to them. Given the appropriate situation, sojourners with integrative attitudes tended eventually to adjust

successfully to the host culture. This seemed true regardless of the specific nature and degree of cross-cultural differences they encountered. They gained an understanding and appreciation of their own culture but generally did not betray themselves or change in areas about which they felt strongly. In addition, they were able to learn about the host culture, accept it on its own terms, and modify their behavior where appropriate and desirable.

In addition to these differences in individual attitudes that are relevant to all exchange experiences, substantial areas of cross-cultural difference and adjustment emerged which seemed particular to Danish-American exchanges. Most notably, these are attitudes and practices related to discipline and responsibility, relationships and communication among peers, and religion and ethnicity. Of these areas, issues related to discipline and responsibility are by far the most salient, particularly in family life, peer interactions, school, and the use of alcohol among teenagers.

Discipline and Responsibility

Family Rules

According to both the Danes and the Americans' descriptions, Danish parents raise their children under the principle of responsible freedom (in Danish, frihed under ansvar). That is, Danish adolescents are given a great deal of independence with few rules. They are expected to make many of their own choices, participate in family decisions, and learn from their own experiences. At the same time, teens are guided by certain norms. They are encouraged to be responsible, mature, honest, and trustworthy. As one Dane described it:

> Teenagers my age are taught by their parents that they have a responsibility and they've got to keep it. They know what they can do and they know that if they don't do that, their parents are going to be dissatisfied with them and they're going to lose friends. Everybody is trying to keep their responsibility and act in a mature way.

In contrast, American parents and society were seen as far more authoritarian and restrictive of American teenagers. While some parents foster independence in their teenage children, it is common for them to make decisions for the adolescents and encourage desirable behavior through family rules and the enforcement of legal restrictions. For example, a teen might be dissuaded from drug abuse both because drugs are illegal and because the parents prohibit the teen from associating with particular friends suspected of using drugs.

As one might expect, students acutely felt such distinctively different styles in the homestay. Many U.S. students commented that

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

their Danish host parents were more like friends than parents. They liked participating fully in family decisions and having more say in their own activities; they felt that they learned substantially and grew up as a result. They also enjoyed the shift in focus from having rules to having responsibilities. Fully 86% of the American sojourners stated that they had no rules in their Danish homestay, and almost as many had no curfew. For the most part, they could make their own decisions about where to go and what to do with their time. However, over half of the Americans said that they and their Danish siblings felt obligated to let the Danish parents know where they were going. Most of this group were obliged also to indicate what time they would return home and to inform their host parents about any changes in their plans. For the few students who had them, curfews were flexible and negotiable. In discussing curfews, many Americans explained that Danish parties and disco outings typically began at 11 or 12 p.m. and continued all night. On weekends, it was typical for students to be out until anywhere from midnight to 6 a.m.

Over half the American students compared their host families with their families in the U.S. and reported having considerably fewer imposed parental guidelines in their Danish families. This change was an initial adjustment for everyone. The majority of Americans enjoyed their new freedom. As one student commented:

> I'd go up to [my host parents] and ask if I could go out and they thought it was really weird. They'd say, "Don't ask [us]. It's your own decision." I enjoyed that. They let me use my own judgment. . . . They [just] wanted me to call if I was going to be home at 6:00 in the morning when I said I'd be home at 12.

A minority, however, described the relative lack of guidelines as a source of great initial difficulty. Some felt insecure, as the comments of one student illustrate: "I was very uncertain as to what my responsibilities were because no one ever laid them out on the line, which I think I would have felt more comfortable with." Like Kate in the opening story, some interpreted it as a sign that the host parents didn't care about them. As this 16-year-old said:

> I could do anything I wanted and I wasn't used to that. It was fun because my [natural] parents aren't that way at all . . . but that was also a problem because I felt like [my host parents] didn't care about me.

This group was particularly uncomfortable in host families where the parents did not ask them about where they were going or when they would return. One U.S. student was bothered that she sometimes returned home and did not know where the family was, or that the family would not know where she was in an emergency. This student

requested that members of the family leave notes for one another about where they were, and when they would return.

Nearly all the Americans felt that their host parents trusted them, respected their judgment, and treated them like adults. They liked this feeling and wanted to prove themselves trustworthy: "I could do whatever I wanted, but I didn't abuse it -- I respected them and I wanted to respect myself, too." Moreover, all the Americans said that they were completely honest with their host families. This was linked to the desire to maintain trust and to the perception that their host parents would accept so much of what they did and said. Even when students felt that they behaved irresponsibly, they saw their Danish parents as more relaxed about it than their natural parents would be. They felt that Danish parents wanted teens to learn from their mistakes.

As one might expect, the Danes had very different impressions of their American host families. In discussing family life in the United States, many Danes made comparisons with their natural families and the predominant mode of raising children in Denmark. The majority of Danes described their host families as stricter and more authoritarian than their Danish families. They criticized American teens for being naive, immature, and blindly obedient to authority. At least a quarter of the group described having limited input in decisions related to their home, school, and social lives, and this frustrated them. A 17-year-old Danish male described this feeling as follows:

> Sometimes it was too much. I couldn't take it anymore because . . . I should have my role too. They would decide -- they didn't think I was old enough to decide for myself and watch out for myself in town. So sometimes they wouldn't let me go to town and I got mad at them.

These students missed the amount of choice and flexibility that they were accustomed to in their natural families.

Danes noticed tremendous variation in family rules and practices among different American families. Some families had lists of rules, whereas others had general guidelines. Most of the Danish group felt more restricted by their host than by their natural parents; they cited more rules and parental control than in Denmark. Similar to Danish families, American families typically expected the Danes to fulfill their household responsibilities, tell them where they were going and what they were doing, and notify them whenever plans changed. However, the Danes described American families as more likely to exercise some control over what the teens did, where, and with whom.

Furthermore, well over half the Danes had fixed curfews. These ranged from 9 to 11 p.m. on weeknights -- if the student could go out at all -- and from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m. on weekends. A quarter of the Danes had a flexible curfew; this meant they either negotiated the

curfew with their parents according to the occasion, or they could exercise their own judgment and "not come in too late" (midnight to 3 a.m.). Toward the end of the stay, curfew restrictions were eliminated for some students in this group. The remaining minority had no curfew throughout the year. Most of the students with no curfew or with flexible curfews were the older students, those between 17 and 19 years of age.

For nearly all the Danes who had problematic homestays, discipline-related problems played a significant role. In these and other types of homestay situations, conflicts focused on Danes returning home late or neglecting to tell the host parents where they were, or about changes in their plans. Students invariably said that they "forgot" to do or "did not realize" what was expected of them in these cases; such lapses were more frequent early in the homestay. One student explained this as follows:

> I didn't really do anything wrong; I just forgot to tell my American mom and dad where I was going sometimes and then I got home at 9:00 at night and they were mad at me because I hadn't told them where I went. . . . But you know, I just didn't think about it. Here in Denmark when I go outside the door I don't have to come back until I want to. If I'd done it here it wouldn't have been any trouble at all.

A third of the Danes were highly irritated by family rules, which they perceived as trivial, childish, and far too numerous. These Danes were frustrated and had difficulty understanding and accepting the limitations.

Moreover, more than a third of the Danes felt that their host parents did not trust them. They felt mistrusted when their parents closely surveilled them, disapproved of and restricted their behavior and choice of friends, or accused them of lying. Needless to say, this made students unhappy. As one Dane said, "They had their eye on me whatever I did and it really made me feel uncomfortable."

Nonetheless, most of the Danes described feeling comfortable with family rules and responsibilities in the U.S. despite initial adjustment difficulties and conflicts. Several factors were associated with this comfort. One was feeling trusted: "My family trusted me. They knew I could manage." Another was the perception that they were not alone. As one Dane said regarding the American curfew, "It was hard, but other people had to be home too. . . . You just had to get used to it." In Denmark, on the other hand, an early curfew "wouldn't be fair, because nobody else has to be home." Another important factor was the feeling that the student and host parents discussed the rules and the reasons for them, as well as any related conflicts. Finally, key to this comfort may have been the integrative

attitude. Danes made comments indicating that they realized guidelines were different in the U.S. and that they had to get used to them.

Well over half the Danes said they were honest with their host parents. Honesty was considered telling the truth and, to a somewhat lesser extent, "telling everything" as opposed to selective editing. They valued honesty and considered it the best way to avoid friction, as this comment from one student illustrates: "I'd rather tell my host mom something and have her get mad; but then we can just go on. . . . I also think that if you tell it right away, it doesn't make as much of a problem as if it comes from somebody else." The Danes who said that they were not always honest with their host parents reported that they lied about when they saw friends, went places, or engaged in activities prohibited by their host parents. This meant telling their host parents altered versions of what they had done or were planning to do, in order to avoid conflicts and further restrictions. Most of the Danes disliked doing this and did so as little as possible. However, half the Danes considered such alterations typical of U.S. family life in general. As they explained it, American parents do not want their teenagers to do certain things -- particularly if they involve sex or alcohol -- therefore they prohibit them. But the teens do them anyway and pretend that they do not. However, no one is really fooled. Referring to his host brother, one Dane said:

> I could tell that he was lying and so could [his parents] I think. Might as well tell the truth. . . . I think it's a lot better to just say, "O.K. This is the way it is," and their moms and dads will just have to accept that.

The general distinctions in modes of discipline discussed thus far extend beyond the homestay and have parallels in areas such as teenage relationships, activities, and school.

Education and Schools

Education is another area in which substantial cross-cultural differences in modes of discipline emerged. It is interesting to note some parallels between classroom life and themes discussed thus far.

In both lower and upper secondary schools (folkeskole and gymnasium), Americans noted the absence of rules, pressure, and competition in Denmark. The classroom atmosphere was relaxed. Students were free to get up to go to the bathroom or speak without raising their hands first. Hall passes to leave the classroom and written excuses for absences and tardiness, common requirements in U.S. schools, were unnecessary in Denmark. Often, students could knit or eat and drink during class. Yet they were expected to be prepared and involved during classes, which focused on discussion and critical analysis of material. Moreover, the Americans said Danes were generally close to their teachers, both in and outside class: "It wasn't

so formal as in the U.S. You could call them by their first names. If you had a problem you would just talk to them about it."

Some Americans (36%), all in the lower school (folkeskole), considered classes noisy and unruly. They complained that students were immature, disruptive, and inattentive, and said that teachers were unable to control their classes. In addition, some considered classes too easy. However most Americans (64%), particularly those in upper school (gymnasium), enjoyed the relaxed classroom atmosphere and considered it conducive to learning. They valued the close student-teacher relationships and high degree of student participation. Furthermore, those in upper school admired the advanced level of classes and emphasis on in-depth learning and reflection.

Danes were less favorable toward American public senior high schools. Some Danes (13%) thoroughly enjoyed school and many (63%) were impressed by the plentiful extracurricular activities. However, the vast majority of Danes either had mixed feelings (31%) or were highly critical (56%) regarding other areas of high school. Danes criticized the monotonous daily schedule, the easy level of course-work, and the limited role that they played in their own education. In Denmark, they had always had input in planning the curriculum, as one student reported:

> Classes [in the U.S.] are boring because we don't have any influence on what the subjects are and what books we read and what can be said. It's always the teachers who make the decision and it was very irritating.

In classes, Danes felt unable to state their own opinion, question or disagree with the teacher, as they were accustomed to doing. This was described by one student:

> In Denmark, I often went into deep discussions with my teacher and we got mad at each other. I started the same thing in the U.S. but the teacher didn't like that. I got sent to the office several times because I said something I shouldn't have said.

Danes also felt close to certain teachers but saw student-teacher relationships as generally distant. Finally, Danes criticized rules and punishments and the "prison camp" atmosphere of American high schools. They considered rules either common sense or unnecessarily restrictive:

> It was strict. . . . I had a hard time accepting that. If you came late to class you have detention. No school in Denmark has detention. You have to have a hall pass to go to the bathroom. If you're in the halls when the class has started, you come down to the principal's. You can't

> smoke except outside. You can eat, but just at lunchtime down in the lunchroom.

Although many Danes enjoyed school as a basis for involvement with friends and activities, it was clearly a source of difficulty. At least half the Danes had overt conflicts related to school. Some had arguments with host parents about homework, attendance, and performance in school. Some were reprimanded by school officials for misbehavior in class and/or skipping school. In many cases this seemed to be a reflection of the Danes' apparent fondness for responsible freedom, participatory decision-making, and direct expression.

Use of Alcohol

Teenagers' use of alcohol provides a third example of how different modes of discipline are in the U.S. and in Denmark. Many teens commonly use alcohol in both countries, but this use differs in several ways. In Denmark, the official drinking age is 18 years; this law is rarely enforced except in the case of entrance to certain bars and discotheques. In the U.S., laws governing the sale and consumption of alcohol vary from state to state and even from city to city. Generally, the minimum age for purchasing alcohol is between 18 and 21. Furthermore, American families differ in their rules regarding their children's use of alcohol. According to the exchange organization's policies, sojourners in either country must observe country, state, and local laws concerning alcohol, as well as host family guidelines. Furthermore, sojourners must not use alcohol in an excessive manner that might embarrass the host family or the exchange organization.

The majority of Americans (86%) maintained that relative to the U.S., Danes' use of alcohol is quite high and begins at a young age. Some Americans were critical: "They drink too much, too early." They thought that many Danes drank irresponsibly and were unaware of the dangers involved. Most, however, admired various aspects of drinking among Danish teens. These Americans considered alcohol normally integrated into Danes' culture and social lives, and they themselves enjoyed being able to drink as part of social events involving other activities. This comment was typical: "I thought it was really fun to drink beers and just go out and dance, go to pubs and talk, or [do] whatever else we did. I liked that." The same group said that Danish societal and parental acceptance of teenage drinking positively influences teens. As in Kate's family, peer and parental pressure, hang-overs, and embarrassment all encouraged teens to learn their limits and avoid obnoxious behavior. Furthermore, these Americans emphasized overwhelming pressure against drinking and driving and the fact that few teens drive in Denmark.

Nearly a third of the Americans said they drank little in the U.S. or Denmark. The majority said they drank as much, slightly more, or much more than usual while in Denmark.

Danes were nearly unanimous in their criticism of alcohol use among American teens and the rules and attitudes surrounding it. They related most problems to the fact that the state and many parents forbid teens to drink alcohol. This makes drinking both more appealling and more excessive: "When [teens] finally got some alcohol, they [drank] all the alcohol they could get their hands on." Furthermore, rather than drinking in a relaxed manner in a home or public place, teens "went wild" in cars, boats, the woods, or other remote locations. Finally, they were nervous that so many teens combined drinking with driving. Some criticized U.S. teens for preferring to drive home drunk sooner than arrive late and/or let their parents know they had been drinking. In Denmark, teens would take public transportation, call their parents for a ride home, or stay overnight with a friend.

Romantic Relationships and Sexuality

Striking differences between Danish and U.S. life emerged in the discussions of teenage sexual relationships. According to many Americans' (57%) descriptions, Danish peers and their parents are far freer and more open about sex in both casual and serious teenage relationships. For American teens, sex is generally considered a private and often prohibited activity, whereas many Danish teens and their parents consider it "natural and acceptable." Americans who were involved in serious romantic relationships during their sojourn generally discussed sex and birth control with their host parents. The Danish parents allowed the students to entertain friends of the opposite sex in their bedrooms. In fact, many such visits were platonic; Danish teens commonly use their bedrooms as a living room where friends gather to talk and drink tea.

Beyond this, most Americans (79%) said that it was common practice for many Danish families to allow boyfriends or girlfriends to sleep overnight in the teen's room; in general this applied only to teens 16 or older who were involved in steady relationships. This practice was a source of initial surprise for all the Americans who described it, including this 18-year-old female: "I just couldn't believe it. . . . In the U.S. I'm not even allowed to have boys in my room, let alone stay the night! There aren't many people my age who can." Some (29%) admired the Danish attitude, whereas others (36%) had great difficulty understanding and accepting Danish ways. One, referring to her Danish friends who stayed with their boyfriends, commented: "I was shocked at first -- kind of like these girls had no morals." Other Americans expressed their embarrassment when host siblings had boyfriends or girlfriends overnight or when host parents discussed birth control with them prematurely.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Generally, the Americans who experienced initial difficulty eventually came to understand Danish attitudes. A typical remark was: "By the end of the year, it didn't shock me. It was no big deal." This did not necessarily involve a change in their own attitudes and behavior. One American said she encountered opportunities for sexual involvement with a variety of Danes, and commented, "But I thought it was dumb. I wouldn't do it here [in the U.S.] and I wouldn't do it there, either. . . . I wanted to stick to the things I believed in and sort of go from there."

As the description of Leif's experience indicated, Danes generally experienced more restrictions on their male-female relationships while in the U.S. Relationships were supervised in a variety of ways. Parents wanted to meet and approve of the person; they did not permit visits unless the parents were home and/or they did not allow visits in the bedroom. In the Danes' view, such restrictions demonstrated unwarranted lack of trust and fear of teenage sexual activity. Furthermore, they hindered the development of close relationships, as this male described:

> I could go to [my girlfriend's place] but we'd sit in the living room and talk to her mom and dad, and that's not really like being together. It's not that I want to go to her room and just stay there all night or anything, but I don't want to just sit there with her on the other side of the table and just talk to her mom and dad all night. And that was all that I could do. It wasn't really like having a girlfriend.

Danes in this group were unaccustomed to such parental concerns and guidelines but generally managed to abide by them. As one 19-year-old said, "I got used to it, but that was one of the things that was harder than other things to get used to."

Danes were struck by the diversity in their U.S. friends' views regarding sexual relationships. Some friends did not believe in premarital sex; others had sex as part of a serious relationship; and others engaged in casual sex. Danes were surprised that many Americans in serious relationships waited so long to have sex. Furthermore, they criticized the secretive nature of American teens' sexual relationships. They said that American teens were either ignorant about birth control, or feared their parents would find out if they obtained it. One female explained, "Their parents don't think that they do anything, so their parents never tell their daughters about birth control -- like mine did to me. And then [teens] don't understand how they get pregnant." Finally, Danes objected to the gossip and bad reputations surrounding American teens' sexual encounters.

It is interesting to note parallels in modes of discipline in teens' family, school, and social lives in each country. The predominant impression sojourners give is that Danes demonstrate fewer overt

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

restrictions and greater consistency between parental expectations and actual teenage behavior. By contrast, American teens reflect stricter societal and parental restrictions, and greater variance between those restrictions and what is actually done and accepted among American teens. Another striking feature is that despite vastly different attitudes in areas such as alcohol use and sexual mores in Denmark and the U.S., sojourners in each country do not indicate radical changes in their own values and behavior. Their exposure to varying attitudes, however, may have increased their tolerance for them.

Communication and Friendships

Communication and friendships among peers also varied markedly between the U.S. and Denmark. Nearly all the U.S. teens portrayed their Danish peers as straight forward and honest in conversations, natural in their appearance and behavior, and relatively unconcerned with impressing other people. The Americans sometimes felt offended by blunt criticism but generally preferred it to the gossiping behind one another's backs that they considered prevalent in the U.S. As one American said:

> Danes took you for what you were. The whole society was just a lot more real, a whole lot more down to basics. They were a lot more honest about everything, which I liked. There is so much of a thin layer of bull in what people say in America. It's like, "Oh, I just love what you did with your make-up today!" and you have green and yellow and purple all over your face.

Many Americans described feeling at ease in Denmark; they felt that they learned to accept themselves and live less according to other people's expectations. Furthermore, Americans were impressed with the level of maturity of their peers and with the types of conversations they held. Many felt that Danish teens thought more about important issues, including politics, and discussed them critically.

The Danes were nearly unanimous in their assessment of their American peers in this area and their observations are highly consistent with those of the Americans. They noted that U.S. teenagers frequently compliment people to their faces and then criticize them behind their backs. They also considered Americans superficial and egocentric; for example, one Dane commented: "Americans were always putting up a mask -- if they were doing things right, if they were acting right, how they looked -- they thought a lot about that." Their fear of disapproval led them to hide their true feelings and behaviors from their peers and particularly from their parents. Danes preferred genuine, honest, direct behavior and expression. One of them remarked: "Why not just be yourself. That's much more easy.

And if people can't take you the way you are, then you can just find some other friends." Danes valued exchanging viewpoints on a wide variety of subjects and sometimes felt unable to express themselves as openly as they would have liked. Furthermore, they found conversations among some peers trivial and boring. They considered teens ignorant about politics and geography, and unlikely to have opinions about world affairs and philosophical issues.

As has been noted, friendships in the host country were extremely valuable to both Americans and Danes. Beyond differences in the nature of parental influence concerning friendships, sojourners faced a number of other adjustments in this area.

In describing both friendships and family life, Americans used the Danish words "hygge" and "hyggelig," literally translated as comfortable, cosy, homelike, and pleasant. Their descriptions convey a warm, relaxed atmosphere, often with candles, food, and tea, with people enjoying one another's company. For example, a U.S. teenager described this experience: "We spent lots of time talking. I found that in Denmark, spending time with people was the most important thing." Most Americans felt that close friendships in Denmark involved a deeper, more intense bond than many American friendships. They noted that Danes tend to have a smaller, closer circle of friends and spend more time with people on a one-on-one basis. As one teen said:

> It was really strange, because when you go to visit a friend in Denmark, or when they visit you, they go in your room. . . . You shut the door and you're there, and there's nothing to do but talk to each other! . . . In the U.S., friends just go out and have a good time.

Finally, some Americans said Danish friendships developed slowly and were of a permanent nature; Americans tended to be more transitory. "Danes know each other really well; they've grown up together. I was envious of that. In the U.S., when you switch schools you switch friends." Some Americans said that the sojourn caused them to re-evaluate their friendships at home and led them to value more depth in relationships.

Most Danes had close American friends with whom they shared a wide variety of activities. Some described difficulty establishing close relationships with members of the same or the opposite sex. This was considered related to parental restrictions and teens' superficiality, already described. In addition, Danes felt limited by defined, exclusive social groups -- such as "the party-ers, the jocks [athletes], and the intellectuals." They also mentioned that American teens frequently meet for activities outside the home rather than having warmer visits at someone's home. Nonetheless, most Danes described close American friends whom they deeply appreciated and now missed.

Both Danes and Americans described dating as an American and not a Danish concept and practice. As used here, dating is when two people of the opposite sex make advance arrangements and do a social activity together. Many Americans said they were accustomed to the male making the invitation and paying the expenses. In Denmark, males and females were more likely to spend time together through group outings, spontaneous activities, and visits to one another's homes One student noted:

> Danes don't really have dating. It's kind of like everybody goes in town and you meet and then if you find somebody you like, then you dance with him that night and then you meet him the next night, and you don't really get calls to do this or that.

Many Americans were surprised by Danish dating practices and a few females were initially taken aback. They expected the Danish male to chauffeur them, pay their expenses, and/or give them individual attention. One of them complained: "I never really went on a date in Denmark. I tried to! Sometimes you think you've got a date and he shows up with a bunch of friends!" However, all but a minority eventually felt comfortable with the Danish ways. Furthermore, Americans discovered that Danish couples do spend more time together as the relationship becomes more established.

Danes made the same distinction between American dating and Danish outings. One Danish male described his reaction as follows:

> I thought it [dating] was really weird because I'd never tried it before, because we don't do it the same way. In the U.S. you have to pay everything for the girl; you go out to eat, go to a movie, and you drive someplace. In Denmark you just invite some friends [over] and we sit in our room and then we go downtown later on. It's like here we're in groups and over there it's just a boy and girl.

A quarter of the Danes, all females, said American dating was unusual, but "fun," "cute," and "a nice change." Half the Danes, both male and female, felt restricted by "old-fashioned" dating practices. Primarily, they felt that the formality made it difficult for males and females to get together and know one another. This was linked to a lack of spontaneity. A male explained:

> You can't just go up to a girl and ask her if she wants to go out to a movie or the mall or something like that. You have to tell her a month before. In Denmark you just talk to a girl and find out if we have the time and then we go.

These Danes were more comfortable having a romantic relationship naturally evolve from a friendship. Once again, parental control was cited as another limiting factor; the student and prospective date needed to meet and obtain permission from each set of parents. Finally, some Danes resented peer pressure to date and the tendency for more established male-female relationships to exclude other friends of both the same and the opposite sex.

It is interesting to note that both Americans and Danes described substantial differences in peer communication and friendships; most Americans tended to admire Denmark in these areas whereas Danes typically had difficulties in the U.S. Some Americans felt strongly influenced in these areas and described changes in their own values and patterns of interaction. Some expected and missed American dating practices and some were uncomfortable with the widespread acceptance of teenage sexual activity. Overall, however, Americans enjoyed the freedom to experience a wide range of relationships with Danes, and their own friendships and relationships were extremely important to them. Danes were more critical of their American peers; their difficulties ranged from feeling stifled and bored in their conversations to getting reprimanded at school or at home for their outspokenness. It was hard for some to adapt to new patterns in relationships and they felt limited in a number of ways. Yet Danes did experience many close friendships in the U.S. and they described learning a lot through their exposure to other views.

Ethnic and Religious Differences

The Danes' ethnic and religious homogeneity -- primarily Scandinavian, overwhelmingly Lutheran -- contrasted profoundly with the diversity found in the U.S. The students' comments reflect less pronounced individual variations in values and norms among Danes. For example, Americans described fairly consistent attitudes toward teenage alcohol use and sexual relationships among most Danish teens, their parents, and the society at large. Danes distinguished between American friends with quite different viewpoints and they noted more contradictions between societal and parental expectations and teenage conduct.

Some Americans enjoyed Denmark's homogeneity and remarked that it made it easier for Danes to get along with one another. Others were bored by it and increased their appreciation of the diversity in the U.S. while still others had particularly difficult transitions in this area. Difficulties occurred for Americans who are black, Asian-American, Jewish, or strongly Catholic or Protestant. The Americans of different ethnic backgrounds -- for example black or Asian-American -- were a novelty for many Danes. Initially, these Americans felt self-conscious and feared prejudice. These feelings are evident in this student's comment: "At first I thought people were prejudiced.

. . . I asked some friends why people stared at me and they told me it was just because I was dark." Through time and though discussions with their host family and friends, these students became more comfortable and felt that Danes accepted them and learned from their contact with them.

In terms of religion, Americans underwent varying degrees of transition between natural and host family backgrounds. Almost all of the U.S. students (93%) came from moderate or strong religious backgrounds (Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish) and stayed with host families with moderate, weak, or no affiliation with the official Lutheran religion.

Adjustments were fairly smooth when students and host families were closest in terms of the strength of their religious commitment, or when there was a mutual respect for one another's beliefs. Other students adapted by modifying their religious beliefs and/or practices somewhat during their sojourn. For example, one U.S. student came from a Roman Catholic family and was accustomed to attending church one to three times weekly. His Danish family never discussed religion, and it had no apparent influence on their lives. However, he felt compatible with his host family in other important ways, and said, "The whole exchange experience was just so positive that in my view, that was keeping up your religious views anyway -- just living a good life."

The most conflictual situations involved Americans from strong religious backgrounds -- Catholic or Protestant -- whose Danish host parents were atheists. The main difficulties arose when host family members verbalized their religious beliefs or when they mocked those of the student; Kate and the Simonsen family have already provided an example of this. It was also a problem for some students to worship and attend religious services as they were accustomed to doing.

The ethnic and religious composition of the United States is far more diverse than that of Denmark; and some Danes particularly enjoyed their exposure to new ethnic groups, religious beliefs, and practices in the U.S. The U.S. population is composed largely of people of English, German, Irish, or African ancestry, with ever-increasing additions from Asia and Latin America. While there is a formal separation of church and state in the U.S., most Americans are associated with various denominations of the Judeo-Christian tradition; the largest group is Protestant, second largest is Roman Catholic, and third largest is Judaism. A quarter of the Danes mentioned being impressed with the ethnic diversity of their American neighborhoods and schools. As one Dane said:

> There were so many different kinds of people at the school. . . . I wasn't used to that and I really enjoyed it. I have a lot of different friends in Denmark but the way they live, the way they are, is very much the same.

All the Danes in the sample were confirmed in the Lutheran church. In Denmark they either never or seldom attended church, and they felt affiliated with the beliefs of the church to a weak or moderate degree. Danes were most comfortable in host families whose overt religious beliefs and practices differed only moderately from their own. However, most (75%) of the Danes lived with American families whose religious affiliation was somewhat or much stronger than theirs.

Some (19%) of these Danes became quite involved in church-related youth groups and activities. They enjoyed the services, the feeling of community, and the church-related events. They also gained support from pastors, priests, and church members. Church-related friends and activities became a significant part of their stay and some felt substantial changes in their religious beliefs.

However, one third of the Danes had difficulties, primarily because of misunderstandings and disagreements about one another's religious views, and because the student disliked attending church. While none of the host families in this study required the Danes to accompany them to church, it was clearly important to them and many became angry when the student did not go. Therefore, these Danes often did attend church. Most disliked doing so, and wished their families would understand and accept that it was unimportant to them.

* * * * *

While this study does not claim to represent all Americans, Danes, or exchange students, findings described thus far could be valuable in a number of ways. At the very least, the exploration of these students' exchange experiences provides a portrait of two different cultures. Beyond that, it provides insight into the impact of cultural differences on sojourners, the kinds of impressions and changes they experience, and the overall course of the sojourn. In this sense, it is relevant beyond the context of Denmark, the U.S., and particular programs.

Many of the important findings of this study are particularly salient issues during adolescence, such as relative societal and parental restrictions. Adolescence is also a particularly important time for exploring values and developing one's views toward relationships. It would be helpful for those involved with exchanges among teenagers -- the host families, counselors, orientation leaders, school officials, and others -- to understand this on two levels. One is understanding adolescence in terms of general developmental issues. The other is being aware of the particularly teenage culture of each country in question, since that is what the exchange students in secondary school and family contexts will most directly experience.

In selecting, placing, orienting, and counseling students and families, it could be effective to combine findings in this study with existing knowledge on cross-cultural adjustment. For example, it is commonly accepted that sojourners will undergo various cycles of adjustment regardless of how much preparation and support they receive, which is part of the cross-cultural learning process. At the same time, it seems clear that certain areas of difference are particularly salient for American and Danish sojourners; understanding these differences could alleviate related adjustment problems.

Placement of Americans in Danish host families should be done with care. Americans from highly authoritarian families might do better in relatively structured Danish homes. Danish families might also be willing to make certain compromises. They could establish a few more guidelines for their American teens and remain in closer contact regarding one another's whereabouts, at least initially. Moreover, those who interact with U.S. exchange students could be given more information and guidance about differences between Danish and American modes of discipline. Since Americans have not been socialized in Denmark, they could misunderstand, abuse, and/or be uncomfortable with modes of discipline prevalent there, both in the family and out. This is particularly true if they do not understand the underlying concepts. For example, Americans may initially be struck by how much freedom they have without understanding the degree of responsibility that Danes associate with such freedom.

Likewise, Danish exchange students and American host families should be selected and matched carefully. For example, selecting highly independent Danes or highly authoritarian American families seems problematic, and the combination of the two seems especially risky. Danes are likely to do better in democratic, non-authoritarian households in which there is flexibility, trust, understanding, and discussion surrounding various restrictions.

For both Americans and Danes, it would help to be explicit about the common expectations parents have of teenage children. This could be done prior to the sojourn through written materials and orientations with a more specific follow-up once the student and family actually meet. Sojourners could also be given guidance in understanding the norms of the school and community they will enter and in learning what is considered appropriate in given contexts. It would certainly be illuminating to elaborate upon this research by examining not only the students' experiences, but also those of host families, teachers and school administrators, and others in the host community.

Differences in ethnic and religious backgrounds is another area in which adjustment-related difficulties could be minimized. For instance, integrative attitudes among students and families could continue to be fostered through selection and orientation. Placements involving extreme changes could be avoided or given careful consideration. It seems particularly problematic to place Danes with weak religious affiliations in host families for whom religion plays a

strong overt role, or to place strongly religious Americans in atheist Danish families. Also, it seems most productive to give Danes an opportunity to engage in religious services and activities, without expecting them to do so. Finally, families and students could be given more advance information and on-going counseling about potential differences, their importance, and constructive ways of sharing and accomodating them.

It may take time for both Americans and Danes to become accustomed to different styles of communication and relationships. Again, this will be easier if they are given advance preparation and on-going guidance in these areas. This may be particularly important in connection with relative parental influence, dating practices, and attitudes toward sex. Danes could benefit from additional assistance in understanding different modes of communication and their appropriateness in given contexts. They could be informed that they may have some flexibility in peer relationships, for example, but will probably need to curb their tongues in most schools. In addition, host families and schools could benefit from understanding Danes' backgrounds and values.

It would be informative to examine the re-entry experience in relation to specific cross-cultural differences. Issues relevant to re-entry did surface in the interviews, although this study did not focus on them. It seemed especially likely for Americans to have difficulty if they were returning home to live with their natural families and attend secondary schools instead of going to a university away from home. Like Danes going to the U.S., Americans returning to the U.S. after a year in Denmark must in some respects give up a degree of adult status to which they have grown accustomed. Counseling and orientation of students and families after the students' return home could certainly be effective.

Certainly, the idea of cross-cultural exchange is not to duplicate sojourners' home environment nor to tell them exactly what they will encounter in the host country -- as if that were possible. Rather, it is to foster ideal conditions for a smooth, productive exchange experience. In part, this can be done through encouraging an integrative attitude and a better understanding of salient areas of cultural similarity and difference on the part of all those involved with the sojourn.

WANG STORAGE INFO:
Document 0600D
Disk 0001A

OCCASIONAL PAPERS IN INTERCULTURAL LEARNING

is a publication of

AFS International/Intercultural Programs, Inc.
313 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017, USA

Editor: Dr. Neal Grove

Associate Editor: Dr. Bettina Hansel

AFS International publishes the **Occasional Papers in Intercultural Learning** as a public service, and for this reason the articles contained in the **Papers** are not copyrighted unless a specific notice to the contrary is provided. Articles printed herein without copyright notice may be quoted or reprinted without permission; however, proper attribution should be given and the Editors of the **Papers** informed.

Potential contributors should communicate with the Editors prior to submitting articles to be considered for publication in the **Papers.**

Beginning with Number 10, which appeared early in 1986, the **Papers** were put on a subscription basis for those wishing to receive them at addresses within the United States. (No subscription or back-issue fee is charged to anyone receiving the **Papers** at an address outside of the United States.) The subscription system operates as follows:

- Subscriptions are for five issues, which are published over a period of approximately two years. These subscription cycles are projected to cover 1986-1987, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, and so forth. Note that subscription fees will be received only during the early months of the first year within each two-year cycle.

- In order to minimize bookkeeping, no subscription fee will be charged to those who begin receiving the **Papers** within any two-year cycle; these new recipients will be asked to subscribe at the beginning of the next regularly occurring subscription cycle.

- Back issues of the **Papers,** from Number 1 (June 1982) through the most recently published issue, will be sold to requesters at addresses within the United States at $1.50 per copy. Checks or money orders should be made payable to "AFS International"; no purchase orders, please. Note that a specific back issue may not be available at any given time.

ISSN 8756-9078